

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 110978
ORIGIN EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-12 TRSE-00 OMB-01 HA-05
/081 R

DRAFTED BY EUR/SE:GWCHAPMAN:RAH
APPROVED BY C:MNIMETZ
EUR/SE:RCEWING
EUR:REBARBOUR

-----126102 012329Z /61

O P 012258Z MAY 78
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY NICOSIA IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 110978

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, PEPR, CY

SUBJECT: CYPRIOT AMBASSADOR'S CALL ON COUNSELOR NIMETZ,
APRIL 28

REF: NICOSIA 1115

1. CYPRUS AMBASSADOR DIMITRIOU CALLED ON COUNSELOR NIMETZ
APRIL 28 TO EXPRESS GOC DISSATISFACTION WITH RECENT DEPART-
MENT STATEMENT ON LEGALITY OF TURKISH PRESENCE IN CYPRUS;
TO REINFORCE KYPRIANOU'S CRITICISM OF GENERAL OGARKOV'S
APRIL 26 STATEMENT IN ANKARA; AND TO EXCHANGE VIEWS ON
TURKISH CYPRIOT PROPOSALS. NIMETZ BRIEFED DIMITRIOU ON THE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 110978

SUBSTANCE AND TENOR OF HIS APRIL 27 DISCUSSION WITH SOYSAL
AND REITERATED VIEW THAT POSSIBLE NEGOTIATING OPPORTUNITY
THAT NOW PRESENTED ITSELF SHOULD NOT BE LOST.

2. LEGALITY OF TURKISH PRESENCE IN CYPRUS. ON INSTRUCTIONS
DIMITRIOU EXPRESSED GOC'S STRONG CONCERN OVER DEPARTMENT'S
RESPONSE TO QUESTION TAKEN AT APRIL 21 NOON BRIEFING ON

WHETHER TURKISH PRESENCE IN CYPRUS VIOLATED AMERICAN LAW (TEXT OF RESPONSE IN STATE 108969). IN THE GOC VIEW, THIS RESPONSE REPRESENTED AN ATTEMPT TO WHITEWASH THE PRESENT SITUATION IN CYPRUS AND TO CONCEAL THE UGLY REALITY BEHIND CONVOLUTED LEGAL REASONING. FLAGRANT TURKISH

VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS WERE IGNORED. THIS SEEMED TO BE A RESPONSE DESIGNED TO SUPPORT CURRENT ADMINISTRATION EFFORTS ON THE HILL.

3. NIMETZ REPLIED THAT IT HAD NOT BEEN OUR INTENTION EITHER EXPLICITLY OR TACITLY TO SANCTION CONTINUED PRESENCE OF TURKISH TROOPS IN CYPRUS OR TO CONVEY IMPRESSION THAT WE CONSIDER SITUATION IN CYPRUS SATISFACTORY. WE HAD NEVER SOUGHT TO JUSTIFY THE TURKISH PRESENCE ON THE ISLAND; AND WE WOULD NOT DO SO NOW. NIMETZ STRESSED THAT THE DEPARTMENT STATEMENT IN QUESTION WAS A TECHNICAL ONE MADE IN RESPONSE TO A TECHNICAL QUESTION; WHILE IT SEEMED TO HIM CLEAR AND SATISFACTORY AT FIRST GLANCE, HE WOULD BE GLAD TO TAKE A FURTHER LOOK AT IT. NIMETZ REMINDED DIMITRIOU THAT THIS ADMINISTRATION--AS DISTINCT FROM THE PREVIOUS ONE--HAD TAKEN THE POSITION THAT THE TURKISH INTERVENTION IN 1974 DID CONSTITUTE A VIOLATION OF U.S.-TURKEY BILATERAL AGREEMENTS ON ARMS TRANSFERS AND THAT THE EMBARGO WAS A VALID RESPONSE AT THAT TIME.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 110978

4. IN THIS CONNECTION, NIMETZ SAID THAT WE HAD DETECTED IN RECENT GOC PRONOUNCEMENTS WHAT SEEMED TO US TO BE A NEW EMPHASIS ON THE NECESSITY FOR COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL OF TURKISH TROOPS. WE WERE IN FULL AGREEMENT THAT ALL TURKISH FORCES EXCEPT THOSE PERMITTED UNDER GUARANTY ARRANGEMENTS SHOULD BE WITHDRAWN, BUT WE FELT THAT IT WAS UNREALISTIC TO EXPECT THAT THE TURKS WOULD AGREE TO THIS BEFORE CONCLUSION OF A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. EMPHASIZING THE ISSUE OF TROOP WITHDRAWAL WAS NOT A PRODUCTIVE MEANS OF MOVING FORWARD, AND COULD RESULT IN THE TROOPS STILL BEING THERE IN FOUR OR FIVE YEARS TIME. THE GOC FOCUS SHOULD INSTEAD BE ON ATTAINING A SETTLEMENT, WHICH WOULD REPRESENT THE ONLY PRACTICAL MEANS OF BRINGING ABOUT THE DESIRED TROOP WITHDRAWAL. NIMETZ AGREED WITH DIMITRIOU, HOWEVER, THAT IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR THE U.S., ON APPROPRIATE OCCASIONS, TO REITERATE PUBLICLY ITS EXPECTATION THAT THE TURKISH FORCES WOULD EVENTUALLY BE WITHDRAWN.

5. OGARKOV STATEMENT. DIMITRIOU SAID THAT HE HAD ALSO BEEN INSTRUCTED TO RAISE THE STATEMENT MADE BY SOVIET CHIEF OF STAFF OGARKOV IN ANKARA ON APRIL 26, IN WHICH REFERENCE WAS MADE TO POSSIBLE MILITARY COOPERATION BETWEEN TURKEY

AND THE USSR. DIMITRIOU ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE GOT HAD SUBSEQUENTLY PUBLICLY REAFFIRMED ITS COMMITMENT TO THE WESTERN ALLIANCE. NEVERTHELESS, THE GOC FELT THAT THIS INCIDENT CREATED A CLIMATE CONDUCIVE TO PERPETUATION OF THE CYPRUS SITUATION, AND WAS INDICATIVE OF THE MANNER IN WHICH THE SOVIET UNION WAS ATTEMPTING TO EXPLOIT PRESENT DIFFICULTIES FOR ITS OWN PURPOSES. NIMETZ SAID THAT WE

CONSIDERED THE GOT STATEMENT TO BE REASSURING. HOWEVER, IT WAS UNDERSTANDABLE THAT A NATION THAT HAD TRADITIONALLY RECEIVED SOME 90 PERCENT OF ITS MILITARY EQUIPMENT FROM ANOTHER NATION THAT HAD NOW IMPOSED AN EMBARGO WOULD AT SOME POINT BEGIN TO LOOK ELSEWHERE. THE SOVIETS WERE OBVIOUSLY EXPLOITING THE SITUATION; BUT IT SEEMED CLEAR TO CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 110978

US THAT IF THE EMBARGO WERE NOT LIFTED THE TURKS WOULD FEEL COMPELLED TO RECONSIDER THEIR OPTIONS. NIMETZ STRESSED THAT IT WAS IN THE INTERESTS OF ALL OF US, CYPRUS INCLUDED, THAT TURKEY RETAIN ITS PRO-WESTERN ORIENTATION.

6. IN THIS SAME VEIN, NIMETZ REITERATED OUR FIRM BELIEF THAT THE SEARCH FOR A CYPRUS SOLUTION WOULD BE EASIER IF THE EMBARGO WERE LIFTED. THE EMBARGO HAD BECOME A CONSTANT SOURCE OF IRRITATION IN OUR RELATIONS WITH ALL THREE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES, AND HAD BEEN MAGNIFIED OUT OF PROPORTION TO ITS ACTUAL SIGNIFICANCE OR POTENTIAL USEFULNESS. THE FACT THAT IT REALLY AFFORDED LITTLE LEVERAGE SHOULD BE CLEAR ONCE IT HAS BEEN LIFTED. NIMETZ SAID WE CONSIDERED IT UNFORTUNATE THAT THE GOC RESPONSE TO THE TURKISH CYPRIOT PROPOSALS WAS--APPARENTLY--CHIEFLY DETERMINED BY DESIRE TO PRESERVE THE EMBARGO.

7. TURKISH CYPRIOT PROPOSALS. DIMITRIOU ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE NEW PROPOSALS WERE MORE ELABORATE THAN THOSE PRESENTED BY THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS IN 1977. IT WAS THE GOC'S JUDGMENT, HOWEVER, THAT THEY DID NOT CONSTITUTE EVEN A VIABLE STARTING POINT. FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES STILL EXISTED THAT WOULD STAND IN THE WAY OF PRODUCTIVE NEGOTIATIONS. ASKED FOR OUR REACTION TO THE PROPOSALS, NIMETZ SAID THAT WE HAD AVOIDED MAKING ANY OFFICIAL JUDGMENT IN THE BELIEF THAT WE COULD BE MOST USEFUL IN TALKING QUIETLY TO THE TWO SIDES. IT WAS OUR OPINION, HOWEVER, THAT THE GOC HAD TAKEN THE MOST RESTRICTIVE INTERPRETATION POSSIBLE OF THE PROPOSALS.

8. NIMETZ RECOUNTED BRIEFLY HIS CONVERSATION WITH SOYSAL APRIL 27, AND HIS EFFORTS TO PROBE TURKISH CYPRIOT FLEXIBILITY ESPECIALLY ON TERRITORY AND VAROSHA. SOYSAL CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 110978

HAD INDICATED THAT THE TURKISH SIDE WAS FULLY PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE THE AREAS AROUND THE SIX VILLAGES NAMED AND FOR THAT VERY REASON NO LINES HAD BEEN DRAWN ON A MAP IN ORDER TO PRESERVE FULLY MAXIMUM FLEXIBILITY. HE HAD BY NO MEANS CLOSED THE DOOR TO THE GOC'S RAISING OTHER AREAS FOR DISCUSSION. NIMETZ ALSO TOOK NOTE OF THE PERCENTAGES CITED IN THE "MILLIYET" ARTICLE, WHICH HE CHARACTERIZED AS PROBABLY OFFICIALLY INSPIRED. ON VAROSHA, NIMETZ NOTED THAT THE TURKISH SIDE HAD PROPOSED THAT SOME 30,000 GREEK CYPRIOTS BE ALLOWED TO RETURN UNDER TURKISH CYPRIOT

ADMINISTRATION. THIS WAS PLAINLY AN INITIAL POSITION, AND SOYSAL HAD SEEMED TO AGREE THAT IT WOULD BE ILLOGICAL FOR GREEK CYPRIOTS NOT TO LIVE UNDER GREEK CYPRIOT CONTROL.

9. THE CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUE WAS CLEARLY A MORE DIFFICULT ONE BECAUSE OF THE BROAD CONCEPTUAL DIFFERENCES THAT EXISTED. NEVERTHELESS, SOYSAL HAD MAINTAINED THAT HIS DRAFT CONSTITUTION WOULD WORK, AND THAT HE WAS ANXIOUS TO SIT DOWN WITH THE GREEK CYPRIOTS TO DISCUSS AND EXPLAIN IT. HE INDICATED THAT THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS DID HAVE BACK-UP POSITIONS ON CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES. NIMETZ SAID HE DID NOT WANT TO GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE EASY; YET HE WISHED TO STRESS THE TURKISH CYPRIOT VIEW THAT EVERYTHING WAS NEGOTIABLE.

10. NIMETZ POINTED OUT THAT THE GOC SHOULD LOGICALLY BE PREPARED TO ALLOW THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS AS MUCH LOCAL AUTONOMY AS POSSIBLE PROVIDED A SATISFACTORY TERRITORIAL SOLUTION WAS ACHIEVED. WITH AT FIRST A MINIMAL CENTRAL GOVERNMENT, THE GREEK CYPRIOTS WOULD BE ABLE TO CONCENTRATE ON DEVELOPING FUNCTIONAL RELATIONS IN THE ECONOMY, TRADE, AND THE PROFESSIONS. IN TEN YEARS OR SO THERE WOULD BE A FUNCTIONING STATE IN WHICH THE GREEK CYPRIOTS WOULD CLEARLY BE THE PREDOMINANT FORCE. IT WAS UNREALISTIC, HOWEVER, TO ATTEMPT TO INSTITUTE THIS DOMINANCE FROM THE START THROUGH
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 06 STATE 110978

THE CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE.

11. IN CONCLUDING, NIMETZ URGED THAT THE GOC NOT LOSE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO RESUME NEGOTIATIONS. BOTH SIDES NOW HAD PROPOSALS ON THE TABLE, AND THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS, IN OUR VIEW, WERE READY FOR A REAL DIALOGUE. THE TURKISH SIDE WOULD BE MUCH LESS WILLING TO NEGOTIATE IF THE

EMBARGO WERE MAINTAINED. IF IT WERE LIFTED THE GOC WOULD CLEARLY HAVE TO REASSESS ITS POLICY ;ND ULTIMATELY MIGHT DECIDE THAT IT HAD NO RECOURSE OTHER THAN TO RETURN TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE--REGARDLESS OF ITS DISSATISFACTION WITH THE TURKISH CYPRIOT PROPOSALS. A TOTAL REJECTION OF THESE PROPOSALS AND A REFUSAL TO NEGOTIATE AT THE PRESENT MOMENT MIGHT MAKE SUCH A COURSE VERY DIFFICULT LATER ON. CHRISTOPHER

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DEMARCHE, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, AMBASSADORS, MEETINGS, POLITICAL SITUATION, MEETING REPORTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 01 may 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE110978
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: GWCHAPMAN:RAH
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780186-0068
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t197805104/aaaadljg.tel
Line Count: 232
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 319da494-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 78 NICOSIA 1115
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 17 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2527122
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CYPRIOT AMBASSADOR'S CALL ON COUNSELOR NIMETZ, APRIL 28
TAGS: PGOV, PEPR, CY, (NIMETZ), (DIMITRIOU)
To: NICOSIA
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/319da494-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014